GREET VINCENT HALLINAN AT GUARDIAN RALLY • N.Y. CITY CENTER APR. 20

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Jacket design of the Guardian F. D. R. memorial record "The Unforgotten Man" (see p. 3)

F. D. R. — April 12, 1945

No oak so great but what in time it falls,
To send a tremor through the neighbor-trees;
While through the space it leaves, the silence calls
In accents which ring down the centuries.
The blind and mediocre never tell,
Or sense the changing fortunes in the break,
But bird and years lament the God that fell,
And weave great songs to ease the loss and ache.

A great sequoia sundered from his base,
Has left an emptiness we must endure;
And left unfinished, for the world to brace,
The greatest and most needed overture.
And time demands that we who sense his worth
Should bring his master-hope to certain birth.

ED SANDERS

WAR & PEACE

Press and public cry 'No war over Quemoy', urge four-power talks

By Tabitha Petran

TEN years after Franklin D. Roosevelt's death, events increasingly expose the "positions of strength" built by those who scrapped his policies as dangerous positions of weakness. The Quemoy-Matsu affair finds Washington almost isolated in Asia. At home, Adm. Carney's off-the-record build-up for war against China—like Vice-President Nixon's "GI's for Indo-China" speech a year ago—has backfired, provoking a rising opposition. (A N. Y. **Times** nationwide survey, 4/3, found both press and public overwhelmingly opposed to risking war for China's offshore islands.)

In Europe, U. S. and French Senate ratification has laid the formal basis for rearming W. Germany as a Western ally—at the price of the perhaps decisive erosion of its political basis. At this juncture of world events,

> ". . . the pressure for a high-level conference with Soviet Russia has become irresistible . . . essential to the future of the Western alliance . . . [since] the widespread fear of nuclear war . . . is so deepseated that no politician can stand out against any means . . . that holds out hope of peace" (Marquis Childs, N. Y. **Post**, 3/24).

WHY TALKS ARE FEARED: The genuine negotiations for which the people are pressing throughout the capitalist world would mean a return to FDR's policy of co-existence—designed, as he said in his Economic Bill of Rights message on Jan. 11, 1944, not to preserve the status quo but to permit change and progress. That is why there is so much fear of four-power talks among both Democrats and Republicans. To blunt the pressure, Washington may be expected to stall as long as possible and insist that Moscow negotiate German re-unification, which it has already said is not negotiable once W. Germany becomes a Western ally.

N. Y. Herald Tribune

"Yalta schmalta, Potsdam schmotsdam . . . the question is what do we do now?"

Washington is similarly unenthusiastic about the direct U. S. S. R.-Austria talks, this month, to take up recent Soviet proposals on an Austrian peace treaty. (In February, Moscow said the treaty could be signed if Austria would stay out of alliances and bar foreign bases on its territory, and would never again become part of Germany; and if the four occupying powers would guarantee these pledges.) Washington fears that if Austria is thus "neutralized"—i.e., gains its independence—W. Germany may also try for indepen-

(Continued on Page 7)

LABOR

Detroit tense in UAW strike warning

By Lawrence Emery

AN AUTO worker's life, even under UAW-CIO contracts, is an uncertain business. It is the habit of auto corporations to try to produce a year's supply of cars in six months or less. During peak production the man who makes the cars works too hard, too long, too fast, and then he's laid off.

This year it's worse than ever. Auto companies, with GM and Ford way out ahead, are grimly trying to kill each other in one of the roughest competitive battles in the industry's history; in addition GM and Ford are trying to stockpile enough cars to sweat out a possible long, mean strike this summer. Detroit today is a jittery town; the hectic production race and the prospect of a major walkout have everybody jumpy.

GUARANTEED WAGE: Most auto workers are restless and ready for action; under the current five-year contracts which expire soon grievances have piled up and resentments accumulated. As Carl Stellato, president of the huge UAW Ford local, says, "it has been a long time since September of 1950 when we hocked our future for five years."

To Stellato and other unionists who do not consider UAW president Walter Reuther the greatest union leader in the country, the prime solution to job insecurity in the auto industry—heightened now with the introduction of automation—is the 30-hour week with 40 hours' pay. But two years ago when this demand was pressed, Reuther denounced it as a Kremlin plot. He plugged instead for a guaranteed annual wage. Reuther won; the just-concluded UAW convention in Cleveland solidly backed the GAW demand with the understanding that the 30-hour week will be the major goal in the next go-around with the companies.

STRIKE FUND: To Reuther, the GAW plan has by now taken on the dimensions of a lofty moral crusade. He calls it "a matter of economic justice to the worker and necessity to the economy as a whole"; he insists that it is "economically sound, morally right and socially responsible."

Rank-and-filers don't approach the matter with the same fervor, but there is no doubt that they'll fight for it if a strike is necessary. The 3,100 delegates to the convention were nearly unanimous in voting to increase union dues from $2.50 a month to $7.50, the extra $5 to be used solely to build up a $25,000,000 strike fund.

Under GAW seniority workers, when laid off, would still draw wages from the company "in amounts sufficient to insure take-home pay adequate to maintain the living standards the worker and his family enjoyed while fully employed." Actually, the company would make up the difference between the worker's regular scale and the

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THE MAIL BAG

Continental Congress

MATTAWAN, MICH.

What we need is a Continental Congress against war and destruction and for peaceful settlement of all international disputes. This means finding the ways and means for peaceful co-existence of all nations, regardless of their respective forms of government, before it is too late! This is in line with the letter of Prof. Leo Szilard to the N. Y. Times and reprinted by the GUARDIAN Feb. 14. Congratulations to the GUARDIAN for reprinting it. Anton Garden

Capital Squirrels

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

In their incessant search for nuts
They obstruct the White House putts.
Garnet Helfen

"False Witness"

ST. LOUIS, MO.

As to Matusow's book **False Witness**, I can't have any confidence in a liar—even a self-confessed one. But I also learned to judge motives. I'm sure Matusow could have made far more money by continuing as a paid informer than he can any other way—besides not taking any risk and also remaining "respectable." Not to say taking chances on assassination. Now, as to his evidence, if only half of it were believed many "big-wheels" in the government show up pretty bad. G. L.

Criticism of U. S. S. R.

E. PEPPERELL, MASS.

I was much pleased with Anna Louise Strong's letter (3-28) and I admire her courage, honesty and sanity. I'm also pleased with the way the GUARDIAN has handled the case from the beginning. I've always admired truth and courage above all things, and the GUARDIAN has been unexcelled in this regard.

For many years I've felt that we progressives should criticize the U.S.S.R. just as much as any government, when criticism is needed, and that they could benefit from outside criticism. One criticism I'd like to make is this: they seem to be playing too much into the hands of our leaders, here. Their many "vetoes" and often rigid diplomacy, it seems to me, achieve less than a more flexible attitude would do. For instance, if they announced: "We'll agree to any disarmament proposal you make, and let the world judge as to who is the most sincere." Think what consternation this would throw the governments of the West into. Al Amery

About 100%-ism

BROOKLYN, N. Y.

May you remain unheeding of the criticism you get from those placid souls who, though they have nothing but praise for the obviously honest sense your paper makes, have nothing but horror at your refusal to red-bait (oh, just a tiny bit) to "prove" that you're unbiased. I notice letters of that type in the Mailbag from time to time. When are these timorous characters going to learn that your perspicacity and truthfulness on all other matters is an indication that those who red-bait must lie to do so?

"Why must you always have Russia 100% right and the U.S. 100% wrong?" they wail, refusing to see that if a country is aggressive at all (and these liberals concede that the U.S. IS such), then in these urgent, radioactive times that's wrong enough to make it necessary to use 100% of your column space and energy on it. I would want to ask liberals of the above-described type whether they think that the danger of war today has been brought about by mere blundering and misunderstanding on the part of two great powers equally desirous of peace?

If they think yes, then they must consider the human race to be devoid of any intelligence whatever. But if they think no, then let them face up to the fact that THIS country is the war maker, THIS country, whose lurid, venal press they deplore, whose rabid anti-intellectualism and high crime and insanity rates they know to be significant. All they know about the Soviet Union is what they read in these newspapers whose bias they are forever exposing. Ellen T.

How crazy can you get dept.

Town Meeting: In view of the dastardly doings at Yalta, I recommend that the government immediately call in all Roosevelt dimes and that they be melted down.

—Letter to editor in Hollywood Citizen-News, March 29.

One-year free sub to sender of each item published under this heading. Winner: Anon., Hollywood, Calif.

The crime

RANSOMVILLE, N. C.

It is no crime to refuse to kill.
The crime is to kill.
All men should refuse to kill.
Vernon Ward

Real estate

LYONS, NEB.

I just received a copy of the **New Christian**, a peace magazine from Halifax, N.S. In it I read the following:

"On the 'Meet the Press' radio program, Feb. 20, Val Peterson (Civil Defense head) said: 'If the enemy bombed 92 leading cities, 70 million Americans would be killed, but it would destroy only 3% of the real estate—America wouldn't be gone.'"

I agree 100% with "The Dreamer" in a recent GUARDIAN issue, when he/she said: "When I see what Christians . . . are doing to other Christians—I decide, I'd rather stay what I am." To THAT I say, AMEN! Mrs. Harvey Sydow

Cigarette slogan

NEW YORK, N.Y.

According to a recent news item, cigarette sales fell 5% in 1954.

I guess the tobacco companies will come out with a slogan now to bolster their sales—something like "It's Good to Have Cancer." Harry Fries

Salud! Hallinan

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

Here is a copy of a greeting sent off to Vincent Hallinan:

"In December, 1953, you told a bunch of us IPP'ers in a basement rally at the Embassy here in Los Angeles: 'When I am gone, meet together that you may instruct one another and encourage one another.'

"These words were written into the by-laws of a progressive organization that was founded a few weeks after you left. It is still going strong. Keep well and keep fighting. Salud!" David Seidman

The heart's command

CHAPEL HILL, N. C.

It seems to me that your courageous newsweekly is doing wonderfully in making the people who receive and you that send aware of the command in our hearts to help the oppressed, the hungry, the thirsty, those in prison, the stranger; to "love thy neighbor as thyself."

But haven't you forgotten, or do you silently ignore, the fact that everything you have done to carry out this, God's given command to the hearts and minds of men, has been done with His help fighting with you to help the least?

Please print a prayer, a Biblical quotation, a powerful reminder of God and Christ in your paper. It will strengthen you and help you realize the first command in your burning zeal to carry out the second. Neal D. Thomas

P.S.: I wonder if your angel is not offensive to some? And those who seriously want to help your high human purpose.

Al would be great!

PORTLAND, ORE.

Too bad that our old friend Al Capone passed on. He would have been a prominent member of Congress, had he lived. A Reader

Here is Capone's classic statement on "subversion": "Bolshevism is knocking at our gate. We can't afford to let it in. We have to organize ourselves against it. We must keep America whole and safe and unspoiled. We must keep our workers away from red literature and red ruses. We must see that his mind remains healthy."—Ed.

Carrefour, Paris

"It's just a baby A-bomb! I was afraid for a moment there we'd burst a tire."

Reuben's book

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

I am not satisfied with the way progressives are handling William A. Reuben's monumental book **The Atom Spy Hoax**. Reuben challenges head-on the major premise of the cold war and its concomitant witch-hunt. He has given 3½ years of hard, grueling work to this job in which he has "stormed the heavens," and has furnished us a powerful weapon to combat the psychological warfare technique that reaction has been using to paralyze the minds of the people.

Individuals and organizations should buy this book in quantities and loan and sell it widely. Write to Action Books, Room 2800, 165 Broadway, N.Y. 6, N.Y. The commercial press is giving the book the silent treatment. Morris Kominsky

Our heritage

NEW YORK, N.Y.

We were brought up to believe that we are a religious nation, and the first rule to establish ourselves in the religious realm would be to "Do unto others as we would have them do unto us." Why then do we approve of such organizations as "Radio Free Europe" which attempt to dictate to foreign nations how they should live?

In our pledge of allegiance to our flag, we finish with the words: "With liberty and justice for all." Yet we not only send men to jail for not conforming to a pattern of thinking set up by antediluvians; we attempt to sentence them again after their release for having belonged to an organization in existence for 35 years!

Our religious leaders have always taught us the value of repentance over our sinful ways. So to emphasize our approval of this moral outlet, we discredit the story of Harvey Matusow, who admitted to selling his soul for dollars, and violating one of the Ten Commandments by bearing false witness. Miriam Stern

The "Eagle's" epitaph

NO. HOLLYWOOD, CALIF.

With the closing of the 114-year-old Brooklyn Eagle and the vicious attacks upon the CIO American Newspaper Guild, claiming that they were "responsible" for the closing of this bankrupt, corrupt paper, I think that you should print the following as the epitaph, taken from the Hollywood Citizen-News (5/17):

"Until last January the paper never missed an edition since it was established in 1841 by Issac Van Anden. He hired Walt Whitman as editor in 1846. In 1848, Whitman was fired for his uncompromising opposition to the extension of slavery."

It took 107 years, but the people and history finally caught up with this paper. D. R. S.

Humanity's tide

PLYMOUTH, N. H.

My admiration for you folks cannot be expressed here. It is a living feeling of great force. I know what it is like to be kicked around by men of ignorance, despair and selfish interests. But up against an aggressive confidence based on the science of each subject (rather than newspaper education) the kickers are fighting for a lost cause. They are actually shoveling sand against the tide, the tide of humanity.

The campaign of '48 for Wallace helped to toughen the minds of many (in a practical application) about the complacency and crookedness of those who thought they were going to put the shackles on America. Because of people like you throughout the world, the masses of people will be able to soon again rejoice. Feel in unison with thy fellow man. Put a meaning into the country by leadership of men with the knowledge and understanding of human nature. Edward E. McCue

96 plus . . .

NEW YORK, N.Y.

I was certainly moved by that letter you printed (Mar. 21) from Sister Westover of Fairburn, S.D., 96 years old and rarin' to go with her Buck a Month to the GUARDIAN. So I am enclosing herewith $96, one buck for every year of her blessed life to date. On second thought, I'll add something extra for her future years, because the young in heart live longer than anybody. H. K.

Total enclosed: $254.—Ed.

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"The work, my friends, is peace: more than an end of this war—an end to the beginnings of all wars. . . . The only limits to our realization of tomorrow will be our doubts of today. Let us move forward with strong and active faith."—FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT.

REPORT TO READERS

Spring on Murray St.

IF APRIL SHOWERS bring May flowers, this can be a spring "with a rush of blossoms and music" for the GUARDIAN. The first days of April have brought us freshets of response to our note to many of you of last fortnight, proposing a new "prepaid" method of signing up new introductory subscribers. Renewals are coming in at a good gait; we've already ordered a second pressing of our FDR memorial record, "The Unforgotten Man"; and reservations are mounting for our memorial meeting in New York April 20 with Vincent Hallinan and for our 1st Northern California Banquet in San Francisco May 13.

The "prepaid" sub proposition was mailed to all paid-up subscribers except you who are remitting monthly pledges and already signing up new readers monthly when possible. We urge those of you who have accepted the "prepaid" sub certificates we sent you to start now redeeming them for new introductory $1 subs.

AT THE RISK of being repetitious, we must keep reminding you of these $1 sub certificates, because they represent our best chance and yours to bring new readers into the fold. We can't afford to let you forget that you have an initial supply of them in in your purse, wallet, pocket or desk drawer—and it will never be earlier to start putting them to work.

If we missed you somehow in passing these around, call or write and we'll send you some. The same goes if you need a fresh supply. Newsstand, bookstore and bundle-order readers please note.

If everybody pitches in, the GUARDIAN could add thousands of readers in the next several weeks. Such an infusion now may save transfusions later.

—THE EDITORS

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HUNDREDS OR THOUSANDS OF MILES AWAY

What H-Bomb tests do to us

This is the fire that will help the generations to come, if they use it in a sacred manner. But if they do not use it well, the fire will have the power to do them great harm.
—Sioux Indian

By Philip Morrison
Nuclear physicist, Ithaca, N. Y.

SIX or eight dozen atomic and hydrogen explosions have been set off since the close of World War II, most of them in the U. S.—in remote places, far from cities and farms, though not always far enough. A second article will discuss explosions close enough to many human beings so that blast, heat, direct radiation all have importance. Here we will consider the concern which people who are hundreds or thousands of miles away ought reasonably to have.

First, it is sure that the chain reaction cannot spread to air, sea or land: the bombs will yield at most 100% efficiency.

Second, there is no real chance of big consequences, like tidal waves or earthquakes. The terrible 50-million-ton bomb, never tested, does develop the energy of a severe earthquake, but unless it is deeply buried, not much energy is transferred to earth movement. Instruments can detect rather small atomic explosions by earth tremor, even half-way around the world, but such instruments constantly record more severe tremors from natural causes.

THE FALLING DUST: Third, dust and debris are thrown up to great heights if the bombs explode, as is usual, rather near the earth. The finest dust may take weeks or even years to fall. It may often travel with the winds aloft right around the world. It is this dust which is the cause of all the real remote hazards of atomic explosions. (Even if a bomb explodes high in the air, bringing up little dust, its own vaporized constituents contribute some material to the upper air.)

Fine dust in the high atmosphere can influence weather, as has been proved by several volcanic eruptions. But there is no evidence that the bomb tests have any but a local effect on weather; they are still small dust sources compared to a great volcano. It seems unlikely that "unusual" weather is due to bomb tests; every specific study agrees.

What is left is fall-out. The term refers to the dust which falls to earth by its own weight or is washed down with rain and snow. As dust, it is minor. But it is a special dust; it is intensely radioactive.

MURDEROUS SPECKS: Now radioactivity is not new under the sun. Cosmic rays constantly penetrate the body; wrist-watches irradiate the body; blood itself is faintly radioactive; ordinary rocks and soil send out even more to every human being. The question is a quantitative one: how much?

There are two types of hazard to people remote from the test (and 100 miles is by no means remote from an H-bomb, as is well and tragically known in Japan). One is the chance of breathing into the lungs or taking into the mouth from air, water, hands, food, of a tiny but unusually concentrated speck of radioactive matter. Enough of such material is thrown up in a small bomb test to endanger ten million persons, if they chanced to ingest it. When it is spread out over a vast area, like the U. S., it is surely unlikely that anyone will take much in; but the hazard is present, and the material is not destroyed by sun or air or bacterial action, as is the more usual noxious industrial product. It lasts for decades; time only can end its toxic nature. If a speck enters a human body, it may over years or even decades incite the growth of a tumor of bone or lung.

To estimate how likely this result might be is obviously very difficult. The chain of events is too long and complicated. The natural background of such active material has been observed to initiate cancer only in workers in very radioactive mines; but it seems imprudent to increase the ordinary natural hazard very many times.

UNBORN VICTIMS: The most serious problem is the genetic problem. Radiation is known to induce changes in the hereditary material, which will become apparent in our descendants. Such changes are rarely desirable. The mechanism of human genetics is far from understood; some geneticists believe that a slight increase of the natural radioactive background which affected a large number of people would in the end be very serious for mankind. It is important to realize that a small effect involving very many people is more effective genetically than a large dose received by a very few. That is why weak large-area radioactivity appears more of concern to the geneticists than do the much more intense, but still apparently harmless, doses received every day by the relatively few workers in the atomic industry.

The most sensible estimate seems to me to be based not on experiments with mice or fruit flies, but upon the natural background. Rocky lands, like South Australia, Maine, upper Michigan, the Alps, have higher natural radioactivity than do Long Island or Illinois. Since it does not appear that whole peoples who have lived for centuries in such environments are particularly less fit than others, it seems from experience genetically safe to expose large populations to radioactivity no higher than that of the Alps or the granite country, perhaps a couple of times more than average over many years. Beyond that there lies hazard, which may or may not prove real in the end, when our knowledge grows. Here, "safe" is regarded as a social term; many individuals may well come to grief.

SEEDS OF GENERAL DANGER: The northern U. S. has received since 1945 a cumulative dose which is still a good deal short of doubling the normal amount. Japan and Manchuria, lands which have received both U. S. and Soviet fall-out, though at rather large distances from much larger bombs, have probably begun to approach the prudent limit. Fall-out from tests carried on at the present rate could become a genuine risk in those countries.

The Los Alamos Laboratory itself has published a manual for radiation workers, which carries the sound admonition: "Any unnecessary exposure to radiation is too much."

Are the tests, which are in no way scientific experiments, but wholly military in design and purpose, really necessary? That they are yet a grave hazard seems unlikely; that they have the seeds of general danger is certain; that by chance at least some unsuspecting people will be affected by a test sooner or later is very possible. International restrictions on the number, type and location of tests seems needed, if the cold war continues. The Fedn. of American Scientists has in recent weeks proposed UN studies looking to that end.

Interlandi in Des Moines Register

"Don't let the Formosa situation keep you from taking your trip . . . if they start dropping H-bombs, it won't make much difference what part of the world you're in. . . ."

Wall Street Journal

"Now, Senator, just how many H-bombs would you say we need to maintain friendly relations with the rest of the world?"

"Take risks for peace"

"Unless we can find a spiritual or imaginative power to parallel the scientific power of the hydrogen and cobalt bombs, we might well go down to the dusty death that threatens us. I believe this power does exist, and that peace is the purpose underlying all we hope for and believe in. . . . We must take risks for peace, as we took risks for war, by renouncing the weapons of war. We should invite the Russian leaders to London immediately in the belief that by asserting peace and humanity the power to make peace will be found. If Eisenhower doesn't want to come, let him stay at home. He won't want to be left out if things go well.

—British Methodist leader Dr. Donald Soper.

What other scientists say

"IT SHOULD BE CLEAR that future accelerated H-bomb test programs by several atomic powers will ultimately reach a level which can be shown to be a serious threat to the genetic safety of all people of the world . . . [Atomic tests may be approaching the point where contamination of the atmosphere might make] all the world a laboratory and all living things the experimental objects."

—Fedn. of American Scientists' proposal that UN study radiation effects.

•

"IT IS INEXCUSABLE to state, as has been done, that no hazard exists [from radioactivity]. . . . If the world's fall-out rate continues as it did last year, nuclear tests should cause one deleterious mutation in each 50,000 conceptions. In the United States, this would lead to 78 mutated germ cells in every year the fall-out continues at last year's rate. In the entire world, the present fall-out will cause 1,800 deleterious mutations (physical and mental deformities) each year among the 90 million births. . . . I have made every effort to be conservative; . . . [it] could possibly be 100 times greater."

—Dr. Alfred H. Sturtevant, Prof. of Genetics at Calif. Inst. of Technology and member of the Natl. Academy of Sciences.

•

RADIOACTIVE TESTS have become a threat to the public health and safety of Colorado, warned Dr. Theodore Puck, chief of the Biophysics Dept., and Dr. Ray R. Lanier, head of the medical school Radiology Dept. of Colorado University, on March 11. They said:

"We may have to wait years or generations to determine the full effects of radiation on the human body. . . . The 'no danger' reports are based on the sheerest, most flimsy evidence."

•

CALLING FOR AN END to atomic tests, Nobel prize-winner in chemistry Linus Pauling warned last month:

"Leukemia is one of the great dangers. Some people are much more likely to get leukemia than others. A small extra amount of radiation may push them over the threshold."

•

HIDDEN MUTATIONS in the second generation and after can lower the average vigor and health of a population for hundreds or thousands of years after a single exposure, according to Dr. H. J. Muller, Nobel prize winner for his work on the effect of X-rays on fruit flies, who wrote before the H-bomb was perfected:

"Even an atomic explosion like that of Hiroshima probably results in the death of more people of future generations, all told, than those killed now, and in the handicapping of many more."

—New York Times, March 27, 1955.

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Detroit tense

(Continued from Page 1)

amount of unemployment compensation he received.

PLANNED PRODUCTION: The company would bear the full cost of the plan out of its current wage funds and a reserve to be built up; the union and management would jointly administer it. The union argues that this would compel auto companies to plan their production to avoid lay-offs and guarantee full-year employment to their workers by making it too costly not to do so.

Formal bargaining on this touchy matter has already begun with GM, was scheduled to start on April 11 with Ford. GM's contract with the union expires May 29, Ford's three days later. If both companies turn down the demand, it is expected that Reuther will strike only one of them to take advantage of competitive pressure from its rival. Which one he'll pick for the showdown is the biggest guessing game in Detroit today.

COMPANIES' VIEW: No major auto company has publicly said "no" to GAW. But GM on Feb. 28 issued a statement boasting of "outstanding progress" in stabilizing employment and saying that GM workers didn't need GAW—and even if they did there is always employer-financed unemployment compensation administered by the states. Ford this month in its plant paper had this to say:

> "The only security—the only guarantee—worth anything to Ford employes is that their company will be healthy, competitive and progressive enough to be able to employ them at a high rate of wages and benefits. When any proposed security scheme impairs this healthy condition—no matter how attractive may seem the arguments in its favor—such scheme with dead certainty will impair the real security of the worker."

Both statements indicate a total absence of enthusiasm for GAW. Other employers have been more forthright. The Natl. Assn. of Manufacturers early in March appealed for contributions from members for a $30,000,000 fund to finance a "hard-hitting" campaign against GAW which it described as a "disturbing threat to 1955 prospects."

CYNICAL CHAMBER: The U.S. Chamber of Commerce announced its opposition to the plan and said:

> "If you pay the American worker as much for not working as for working, you can't blame him for taking advantage of a bargain when he sees one."

The **Wall St. Journal** is also opposed but on a loftier level: it fears the effect of GAW on the spirit of the worker. Acknowledging that "an assurance of steady employment is a desirable social goal" it dismisses GAW as "a plan to get pay for not working" and adds:

> "The feeling of being a parasite does not increase his [the worker's] dignity as a man. . . . The real question is not what this plan would do to a few corporations. It is what it would do to men."

CARL STELLATO
A voice for the opposition

MEANY'S POSITION: Whatever a full year's employment, or pay during the lack of it, will do to men, the UAW is now irretrievably committed to GAW or some other plan just as good. Reuther told his convention the union will be receptive to any alternative that will guarantee steady jobs but will not retreat from the thesis that industry must bear the responsibility to provide security of employment.

AFL president George Meany did not mention GAW in his speech to the UAW convention, but at a press conference later said: "The auto workers are blazing the trail. I am for it 100%." Asked if the AFL would contribute to the fight, he replied: "I think if the UAW asked for support they would get it."

Meany's address was less than stirring; his theme was contained in one sentence:

> "We want a trade union movement with high moral standards and ethics, we want a movement which recognizes Communists as what they are—traitors to the workers."

CHALLENGE TO REUTHER: But before the convention was over considerable enthusiasm was worked up over the prospect of a resurgence of the labor movement when the expected merger of the AFL and CIO takes place this fall. Auto workers haven't forgotten the days of their glory in the Thirties when they conquered the giants of U.S. industry, and they see in the coming merger a prospect of another big drive to organize the unorganized. The delegates authorized their union to contribute $1,500,000 from its general funds for an organizing campaign; if other unions follow suit at the rate of a dollar a member a kitty of $10,000,000 or more can be built up.

Reuther and his top three officers were re-elected by acclamation and two new additional vice-presidents—named in advance by the Reuther administration—were elected. But there was a little flurry when Local 600's Stellato unexpectedly accepted a nomination for one of the posts and Nat Turner, Negro leader from the Flint Buick local, ran for the other. Stellato said he decided to run because of a need for "honest, constructive difference of opinion" on the union's executive board. He polled a little less than 40% of the winning vote for his opponent.

NEGRO LEADERSHIP: The Turner candidacy forced before the convention a long-standing intra-union issue: the refusal of the Reuther administration to encourage Negro leadership. In Turner's own local, 8,000 of 24,000 members are Negroes; he told the convention:

> "I have been nominated not because I oppose the leadership of this union. But there are some things on which I disagree. I say this union has advanced and grew. But our Fair Practice Department is still in its adolescence. Some day the top leadership of this union will have to cross that bridge."

Labor's Daily, Charleston, W. Va.
"Of course it's a dead planet! They outlawed labor unions there years ago!"

But the leadership of the union is still lily-white.

NEELY ON IKE: A top spot of the convention came when Sen. Matthew Neely (D-W. Va.) delivered the most scathing denunciation of President Eisenhower ever made in public. He not only criticized his golfing and fishing but declared he was not qualified for his job. Some sample quotes:

> "He just doesn't know what it's all about. He is just like Alice in Wonderland. . . . [He] may be first in war, but he also has been first in confusion. [He] doesn't know where he is going, how he will get there, and what the heck he will do if he reaches his destination."

One thing was sure: the coming battle in auto, whatever its outcome, would have long-lasting effects far beyond the limits of the industry itself.

SMITH ACT UP TO DATE

7 victims indicted again in Connecticut; Colorado trial on; California appeal lost

A FEDERAL grand jury in Connecticut last June, under the "conspiracy" section of the Smith Act, indicted machinist Joseph Dimow, printers Alfred Marder and Sid Resnik, chairman of the Conn. Communist Party Sidney Taylor, sidewalk contractor James Tate, carpenter Jack Goldring, and sculptor Robert Ekins.

For nine months defense counsel Catherine G. Roraback, Marvin D. Karp and Samuel Gruber attacked the indicting jury panel as drawn from lists "loaded with employers and with professional men and their wives" to the exclusion of "workers and minority groups." Friends and neighbors formed the Conn. Volunteers for Civil Rights (P.O. Box 374, New Haven) to inform the public of the jury system's "illegality." During the fight U.S. Jury Commissioner Charles G. Morris and Court Clerk Charles E. Picket quietly retired. On Feb. 25 U.S. District Court Judge Robert P. Anderson dismissed the indictments as "improperly drawn" and released the defendants in the $75,000 total bail previously posted.

SECOND ROUND: A new panel, this time drawn with the help of the New Haven Labor Council, returned fresh indictments against the seven on March 4. The new grand jury also indicted on a "mass conspiracy" charge Mrs. Martha Stone Asher, already indicted for "membership" in the Communist Party under the Smith Act.

Conn. Volunteers for Civil Rights has called on unions, church groups, social clubs and individuals to spread the facts about the Federal jury system (material available at the Volunteers' office); demand that Atty. Gen. Brownell end all Smith Act arrests and persecutions; ask their Senators and Representatives to fight for repeal of the Taft-Hartley, McCarran, McCarran-Walter, Smith, "Communist Control," and other anti-civil rights acts. This was the situation elsewhere on the Smith Act front:

COLORADO: The seven Rocky Mountain victims of the Smith Act went on trial in the Federal Dist. Court, Denver, March 21, before Judge Jean S. Breitenstein. Defendants appealed to more than 100 Colorado lawyers; all declined. They are using court-appointed attorneys.

CALIFORNIA: The U.S. Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals on March 17 unheld conviction of 14 Smith Act defendants. Attorneys filed a petition for rehearing.

MISSOURI: The U.S. Supreme Court on Feb. 1 permitted the five St. Louis victims to appeal their cases as paupers.

OHIO: In Cleveland, U.S. Dist. Court Judge Charles McNamee on March 20 postponed the trial of 11 defendants to October. They had asked more time to obtain counsel and to let Frank Hashmall prepare for trial when he is released from prison. His 1-to-10-year sentence was cut by half last year by the Ohio Supreme Court because the Summit County Common Pleas Court had "abused its discretion" in sentencing the CP leader for allegedly registering his automobile under another name.

SCORE: Of 104 indicted under the Smith Act since the first Foley Square convictions in 1949, 71 have been convicted, three acquitted.

Onward Tribune Soldiers!

Col. R. McCormick, editor and publisher of the Chicago Tribune, died on March 31. His last recorded remarks to his editorial staff were as follows:

In recent weeks I have recounted how almost singlehanded we prevented F. D. Roosevelt from overthrowing the republic and establishing the dictatorship as he had planned, and that not without jeopardy to the livelihood of everybody here.

As I speak tonight we are engaged in a battle as momentous and desperate as has ever been fought for the preservation of the republic against an extraordinary combination of communism, plutocracy and hypocrisy, tolerated by an administration reminiscent of Buchanan's. This plot against America is supported almost unanimously by that party which sought to destroy the American nation and by rascals calling themselves liberal Republicans.

Again have come the times which try men's souls. Like your great forebears, you will not flinch. The motto of the editorial department will be: "No mission too difficult, no sacrifice too great."

The motto of the Tribune will be, as it has been, in the words of the first leader for freedom:

"Give us liberty, or give us death."

—Milwaukee **Journal**, Dec. 12, 1954.

HIGH COURT HEARING

Time limit urged for desegregation

THE U.S. Supreme Court originally scheduled last Dec. 6 for additional argument on how and when its anti-jimcrow public school decision would become effective. Justice Robert H. Jackson's death in October postponed action, further delayed by the Senate blocking consideration of Judge John M. Harlan whom President Eisenhower named to succeed him. The Senate's 71-11 confirmation of Harlan March 16 again put the school integration issue on the court's order of the day.

Argument is set for the week of April 11, but attorneys representing states with both permissive and compulsory public school segregation are pleading for more time. Atty. Gen. Brownell, as "friend of the court," has suggested that the defendant states—Delaware, Dist. of Columbia, Kansas, S. Carolina and Virginia—be allowed 90 days to submit plans to the trial courts. NAACP counsel Thurgood Marshall also favors remanding the cases to the trial courts, but urges that de-segregation processes commence immediately and that school authorities be required to file periodic reports with the courts. Marshall wants a time limit set for completion of de-segregation.

RIGHT WING BEATEN

Bevan's ouster from Labour Party barred by rank and file

By Gordon Schaffer
Guardian special correspondent

LONDON

FOLLOWING an unprecedented storm of protest throughout the labor movement, Aneurin Bevan—who challenged the Churchill-Attlee claim of Britain's right to drop H-bombs even if not attacked with them—has been "cautioned" but not expelled from the Labour Party. (The N. Y. **Times** reported from London that this was "generally-accepted in Parliament" as a victory for Bevan.) Bevan remains an "independent" MP, having been excluded from the Parliamentary Labour Party.

The rank-and-file revolt against the expulsion move was led by the Labour parties of Manchester, Birmingham, Liverpool, and war-blitzed Coventry where the Labour-led council has defied the government in refusing to carry out "civil defense" measures. Hundreds of trade union branches demanded a halt to the vendetta against the Left. Support for Bevan was so overwhelming that, at the party executive meeting to expel him, Attlee himself (who had first moved the expulsion resolution) finally offered a compromise—to have a subcommittee interview Bevan to get assurances of future loyalty. The compromise was accepted by one vote. After the interview on March 30, the party executive accepted Bevan's pledge of loyalty which he coupled with the assertion of his right to argue. (Bevan has assured his friends that he will continue to fight within the party against German rearmament.) Thus, temporary at least, Bevan was saved by Attlee.

ATTLEE THE "BETRAYER": The fury of the Right was now turned on Attlee. The tory **Daily Sketch** said he had "betrayed the men who represent the truly British tradition within the Socialist Party—Bevanism is a collection of fanatics, fools and phoneys. . . ." It had been clear that such Labour right-wingers as Morrison, Gaitskell and union leaders Deakin and Williamson were determined to push the expulsion through in face of the revolt. They were exposed as opponents of their leader when Attlee, a cleverer man, broke away at the last minute.

Vicky in New Statesman, London

The right wing has been heavily defeated, and the rank and file have been given a chance to break through the coalition between Labour and Tory leaders. The shrewder Tories don't care if the next government is led by Eden and Butler or by Morrison and Gaitskell. In fact, the **Observer** hinted recently that a Labour government might be in a better position to deal with the unions when the expected attack is made on wages and conditions. Britain can only wage cold war on a coalition basis; if the Labour Party were to break away, the world situation would be changed.

THE FIGHT AHEAD: That is why the Bevan revolt has caused such an uproar; for the forces Bevan has called into action are infinitely greater than the Bevanites. The British people are seeking a way to impose their will for peace on their leaders. They know instinctively that the coalition must be broken before they can change the disastrous cold-war policy.

The Tory Party is now discussing election tactics after Eden takes over. They are terrified lest the Gaitskell-Morrison defeat gives Labour an opportunity to fight the election on a platform of peace. Labour's right wing is desperately determined, even if it means electoral suicide, not to abandon coalition policies.

AFRICA: THE GIANT STIRS — IX

Slavery in the Union of South Africa

By W. E. B. DuBois

IT SEEMS almost unbelievable that in the middle of the 20th century the Union of S. Africa is widely recognized as a civilized nation. Its history began with the settlement of the Dutch at the Cape of Good Hope in the 17th century, followed by the British who made this an outpost of Empire. Both of them met the advance guard of a great African peoples' migration which had probably been continuous for 1,000 years.

The march of the Bantu southward was caused by the state-building of the Sudanese Negroes, which started the fight between Christians and Mohammedans in the Nile Valley and between Mohammedans and earlier cultures in northwest Africa. Marching in waves, with long interruptions, retreats and settlements, the Bantu advance guard reached S. Africa's great plateau almost simultaneously with the Dutch and British.

There ensued a series of wars, skirmishes and attempts at accommodations between British and Dutch, Dutch and Bantu, British and Bantu. The Dutch at first had mingled with the natives and produced a mulatto population, some of which were incorporated with the Dutch and some of which survive as the so-called colored people of S. Africa.

GOLD, DIAMONDS & SLAVERY: The Dutch and the British tried at first to lay out respective areas of domination and almost succeeded, when all was thrown into confusion by discovery of the world's greatest gold and diamond hoard. Cecil Rhodes started to monopolize for England the wealth of this land and to open the way from the Cape to Cairo. The Dutch not only fought the English in one of the bitterest wars in modern history, but entered into a death struggle with the blacks.

Gen. Smuts tried to accomplish the subjection of the Negro with some finesse and regard to civilized opinion, but his successors, Malan and Strydom, were white provincials still marked with 18th century barbarism. They have started out upon a program which is simply impossible. In an economy which calls for larger and larger numbers of black workers who must be thrown more and more in competition with white skilled labor in and out of Africa, they are trying to segregate the workers by race and color; to limit their education and cultural contacts, and to turn them into something as near slavery as modern conditions of industry will permit.

This would be difficult under ordinary circumstances, but today the blacks themselves are under leadership. Their intelligentsia is small but determined and unusually unselfish, with no development of an exploiting bourgeoisie.

"COMMUNISM" & DOLLARS: Indian labor was introduced, and attempts were made to pit these two groups against each other; but determined effort by Gandhi and later leaders has welded them into a fairly solid whole. Missionary and native effort have furnished some secondary schools, and a public school system gives some inadequate elementary training. The African Natl. Congress and the S. African Indian Congress are united to fight racialism. Their efforts have been called "communistic," since in that way the white masters will get the greatest sympathy from the U. S. and Britain.

In 1937 the U. S. imported $6½ million worth of goods from the Union of S. Africa. In 1951 this had increased to nearly $100 million. "The public investment of U. S. money in Africa now runs more than a half-billion dollars," said the **Chicago Daily News** recently, "and the private investments may be as much or more." Every great American corporation has invested funds in S. Africa. The U. S. government has loaned S. Africa $100 million, promises more.

The so-called "Free Democracies" of the West are allowing and encouraging an incredible denial of democracy among S. African blacks, who have no representation in the legislature but can send two white people to talk for them. Repeatedly the two who have been elected have been refused seats because of alleged "communism."

"LET US SPEAK OF FREEDOM": The Union of S. Africa has also seized S.-W. Africa, in defiance of the United Nations, and made every effort to silence the sole voice raised in their behalf by Michael Scott.

A DEMONSTRATION IN JOHANNESBURG, CAPITAL OF THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA

The 11 million disfranchised, degraded and exploited brown and black people of the Union of S. Africa under the slave rule of 2½ million whites have sent this appeal to the world, which every periodical in the U. S., white and black, Republican and Democrat, secular and religious, has ignored:

"WE CALL THE PEOPLE OF SOUTH AFRICA, BLACK AND WHITE—LET US SPEAK TOGETHER OF FREEDOM:

"WE CALL THE MINERS OF COAL, GOLD AND DIAMONDS.

"Let us speak of the dark shafts, and the cold compounds far from our families.

"Let us speak of heavy labor and long hours, and of men sent home to die.

"Let us speak of rich masters and poor wages.

"LET US SPEAK OF FREEDOM.

"WE CALL THE WORKERS OF FARMS AND FORESTS.

"Let us speak of the rich foods we grow, and the laws that keep us poor.

"Let us speak of harsh treatment and of children and women forced to work.

"Let us speak of private prisons, and beatings, and of passes.

"LET US SPEAK OF FREEDOM.

"WE CALL THE WORKERS OF FACTORIES AND SHOPS.

"Let us speak of the good things we make, and the bad conditions of our work.

"Let us speak of the many passes and the few jobs.

"Let us speak of foremen and of transport and of trade unions; of holidays and of houses.

"LET US SPEAK OF FREEDOM."

And what are we Americans, black and white, doing? Nothing but building a chapel where illiterate Congressmen may pray.

Concluding article in this series next week.

Matusow released in $10,000 bail

HARVEY MATUSOW, the government's recanting witness, was released in $10,000 bond from the El Paso, Tex., county jail on April 4. He was sentenced March 19 to a three-year prison term for criminal contempt of court, after swearing that he gave false evidence in the trial of Clinton Jencks, Mine, Mill & Smelter Workers Union official. Matusow's sentence is being appealed.

The bail was posted by Matusow's lawyer, Joe Calamia, who said the money came from Stanley Faulkner, a New York attorney. Faulkner said the money was advanced by "a private party whose name I am not at liberty to reveal."

In El Paso Matusow said he was anxious to take the first plane to New York.

Vincent Hallinan in person at the Guardian rally, April 20, N. Y. City Center Casino, 8 p.m.

NEHRU BLASTS U. S. POLICY

Mideast crisis: West catches Israel, Arabs in a squeeze

By Kumar Goshal

IN "the toughest attack he had made against the West in a long time" (N. Y. Times, 4/1) India's Premier Nehru on March 31 roasted Western—especially U. S.—policies "in almost every part of the world." In Europe, he condemned the West for "talking disarmament and creating a new armed power, Germany"; in Africa, for "not speaking up against racialism"; in the Far East, for "undermining the Geneva agreement on Indo-China" and a "madhouse" diplomacy of "striving for military alliances" which has "upset the chances of peace."

In the Middle East, he condemned the West for "dividing the Arabs into

Le Devoir, Montreal

U. S.: "I can fight anyone in here."

hostile camps" which has greatly increased tensions in that area. In a drive for a Middle East Defense Organization (MEDO) to link SEATO with NATO in the cordon around the U. S. S. R., Washington last year signed a military pact with Pakistan (a SEATO member) after Pakistan had signed one with Turkey (a NATO member). **Business Week** (4/2) said that MEDO would thus form "a solid military block between the Russians and the half of the world's oil that is located in the Middle East"—a source of vast profits to U. S. oil concerns which control it. Last February Iraq, a member of the Arab League which has been dominated by Egypt, was persuaded to join Turkey, a non-Arab country. London's **New Statesman** (2/12) commented:

> "The State Dept. has won its second major victory in the Middle East—against Britain. Having 'settled' the Iranian problem to their satisfaction, the Americans have pulled Iraq out of the [British-favored] Arab League, and tied it into their new group of satellites, which now includes Greece, Turkey, Iran and Pakistan as well. . . . In 1945, Britain relegated France to the back seat. Now we are sitting alongside France, and the U. S. has the wheel firmly in its hands."

ANGRY EGYPTIANS: Britain, desperate to salvage some of its waning power in the Middle East; promptly accepted Iraq's invitation to join the "new group of satellites"; yet it had to swallow what **Le Monde** called "a worse blow to British pride than the retreat of Suez" in yielding control to Iraq of its two big air bases in that country. Egyptian Premier Nasser accused the U. S. and Britain of violating a "gentleman's agreement" for Egypt to lead the Arab countries in an alliance "free from formal links with outside powers." In an effort to torpedo the Turkey-Iraq pact, Egypt offered Syria and Saudi Arabia a military alliance—"a common opposition to the incorporation of the Middle East in the Atlantic line-up" (**Le Monde**).

The latter accepted; Syria, considering the offer, came under violent pressure from Turkey which massed troops at the Syrian border with orders "to shoot on sight if Syrian aircraft or ground units were to violate Turkish territory." Early this month Turkey—which has received over $1.5 billion in U. S. aid—

> ". . . paraded her military might . . . before Lebanon's President Chamoun, [hoping] for Lebanese support for [Turkey's] drive to broaden the Middle East defense alliance" (**NYT**, 4/4).

The West, said **Le Monde**, hoped to force Egypt as a minor partner into the Anglo-U. S.-Turkish grouping, after lining up Syria by means of

> ". . . a *coup d'état* of the 'Guatemala' type, or following the exercise of appropriate pressure by Turkey. . . . [But] all recourse to violence before the [forthcoming Afro-Asian] Bandoeng conference seems very difficult. The occasion would be too made to order for China to contrast its pacifism with the West's brutal methods before the Asian neutralists."

ISRAEL UNDER FIRE: Meanwhile the eyes of the world were fastened on Israel, its small strip of sea-backed territory surrounded by Arab states jockeying for influence and dollars. After Israel's retaliatory attack against Egyptians in the "Gaza strip" in February, the Paris **Tribune des Nations'** Jerusalem correspondent wrote (3/11) that the incident

> ". . . has just confirmed what we have not ceased to repeat, that the Israeli crisis is maintained from outside with the aim of hastening the arms race consolidating the dictatorial regimes in the Middle East countries in order to integrate them more effectively in the 'defense organization' against the U. S. S. R."

During the two weeks before the Gaza incident (40 Egyptians, 8 Israelis dead), there were 15 border "incidents" involving Syrians, Jordanians and Egyptians against Israelis; and clashes have continued since. If the Gaza attack was undertaken by Israel to dramatize its insecurity in the midst of hostile states, the lesson was lost on those it meant to impress. The UN Security Council unanimously condemned Israel; only Soviet delegate Sobolev suggested that Washington's military alliance policy was responsible for increased tension throughout the Middle East.

DOUBLE SQUEEZE: Actually discussions on a settlement between Egypt and Israel, both opposed to the Turkey-Iraq pact, had been reported making headway in Paris and London. The Gaza incident, said **T des N's** correspondent, put an end to them. It

> ". . . could not play the game of U. S. strategy better in present circumstances [since] it makes clear the impossibility of the states in this area regulating their differences, and on this ground makes necessary the presence in the Middle East of 'neutral' troops . . . to keep 'peace.'"

Egypt and Israel are both caught in a Western squeeze play. British MP R. H. S. Crossman wrote from Israel to the **New Statesman** (3/19) that "Britain and America are compelling Israel to choose between a suicidal attempt to break the noose and an acceptance of

DEATH AT BEERSHEBA

An Israeli bus ambushed by invaders from Jordan last year; eleven passengers were murdered.

death by slow strangulation." It has, he said, been trying out two courses: co-existence with the Arab world, collaboration with the West despite the danger inherent in the U. S. policy of arming Arab states; or getting "tough with Britain and America and threatening to break out unless appeasement of the Arabs is stopped." The first course was expressed two years ago through Ambassador Abba Eban's offer of co-operation with the Arabs in all fields; the second was exemplified in the Gaza attack. Neither policy worked or could work

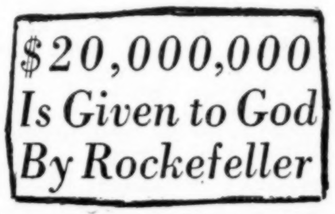
> ". . . so long as feudal military regimes were being wooed by the U. S. to become part of the vast ring being forged to contain the U. S. S. R." (Richard Yaffe, **I. F. Stone's Weekly**).

"INTEGRATED" ISOLATION: The domestic sequel to Gaza has been a drive to integrate Israeli workers in a single "Zionist front"—"a violently imperialist system directed by the U. S. government" (**T des N**)—led by Defense Minister Ben Gurion and his aide, Col. Igal Alone. Alone last month pleased Western diplomats with a presentation at Tel Aviv's Industrialists' Club of this "active defense" policy, "nationalist above class . . . socialist ideas wrapped up in nationalist ideology."

Wishful-thinking that the U. S. would always take care of Israel regardless of its own real or imagined interests in the area, Yaffe commented, has been leading Israel to isolation, immobility—not the kind of neutralism practiced by India, which

> ". . . is based on the right to express sovereignty over their own affairs; to make pacts with whomever they wish; to be friendly with all peace-loving states . . . Israel is finding itself in the untenable position of being rejected by the side its leaders have chosen, of having hostility of the side it has ignored, and of being snubbed by the independents in whose area it more properly belongs."

NYT reported from London (4/4) that Washington, scheduled to enter the Turkey-Iraq alliance closely following Britain, has "quietly notified Britain that it prefers to wait for Middle East affairs to cool." The British were said to believe that among reasons for the postponement was Washington's fear that it would be charged with imperialist actions at the Bandoeng conference. **T des N** reported from Jerusalem that there was reason to believe Secy. Dulles had agreed with Eden in Bangkok to some "spheres of influence" arrangement with Britain in the Middle East, in return for a British promise to support the U. S. in case of conflict in Asia.



$20,000,000 Is Given to God By Rockefeller

Sacramento Union, Jan. 12, 1955

WHO YA KIDDIN', JACK?

WRITE TO YOUR CONGRESSMAN TODAY

House group approves a modified UMT; pressure for bill heavy; opposition urged

THE PRINCIPLE of universal military training—hated and successfully opposed in this nation since its founding—was moved a step toward enactment on March 28. A subcommittee of the House Armed Services Committee approved by a 9-1 vote a modified version of the Administration's military reserve program. Earlier the House had voted 394-4 to extend the present draft law for four years. The reserve program will go before the full House Armed Services Committee on April 18. The Senate will act on the draft bill some time before the present law expires on June 30.

Although the reserve program approved by the House subcommittee was less than requested by President Eisenhower last January, Pentagon officials were reported pleased with the measure and called it "workable."

VOLUNTARY COMPULSION: Subcommittee members insisted their version of the program made it purely "voluntary." The Washington **Post** described it this way:

> ". . . For the first time in peacetime the organized reserves would receive a steady flow of men who have some military training and who are required to serve. Pentagon officials insist that without such a supply of trained men and some form of compulsion, the nation can never have an effective reserve."

Under the subcommittee's bill, a 2,900,000-man combat-ready reserve will eventually be built up. Youths between 17 and 18 would apply for six months' basic training followed by 1½ years in a National Guard or active reserve unit. Those not volunteering will be subject to the draft. Failure to comply with reserve obligations—weekly drills and summer encampments—would result in a 45-day period of refresher training under threat of a court-martial.

ZERO HOUR: The provisions in the President's original program were deleted by the subcommittee: one provided that men from 19 to 26 could be drafted for six months' training if there were not enough volunteers; the other would permit the President to call up to 750,000 reservists in event of a "brush fire" war without Congressional approval. But it is expected that the full committee will restore both provisions; they lost in the subcommittee by tie votes.

Almost all organizations in the U. S.—civic, church, farm, labor, educational—have long been on record against any form of universal military training. But this year the heaviest pressure of all time is being exerted to enact any kind of measure that will be an opening wedge for full-scale UMT. Groups actively in opposition are urging back-home pressure on all Congressmen. The chairman of the House Armed Services Committee is Rep. Carl Vinson (D-Ga.).

Herblock in Washington Post

"I'm not sure I know how to come down."

U. S. vs. UMT

"The armed forces apparently look upon the schools as a kind of adjunct of the military establishment, whose major purpose is to fill military and defense needs. Whereas years ago educators or ministers were chosen as college presidents, there is today a trend toward choosing retired military officers. Refusal to give the Army a permanent universal military conscription program is probably the chief point at which it is still possible to prevent the establishment of a garrison state."
—National Council Against Conscription
(Sponsors: Albert Einstein, Rev. Harry Emerson Fosdick, etc.)

THE GUARDIAN ANGEL

Framing neatly done

CIRCULATION MEMO

We are in the midst of a big-scale renewal drive. If you have a few hours to spare your volunteer help can be of enormous value to us. Drop me a note addressed to Renewal Drive, 17 Murray St., N. Y. C. 7, for details. Or call me at WOrth 4-3960. The work will be at your convenience.

GEORGE EVANS

War & Peace

(Continued from Page 1)

dence through direct negotiations with Moscow.

An independent Germany would mean total failure of Washington's policy in Europe, which for almost a decade has projected a rearmed W. Germany as a spearhead to restore capitalism in E. Europe.

The U. S. side of the Yalta story

Last week the GUARDIAN showed how Churchill betrayed the Yalta agreement in an effort to achieve this end. Here are some facts concerning the U. S. side of the story:

To induce top U. S. financial groups—some of which had close ties to similar groups in Germany—to participate in the war effort, Roosevelt had put their representatives in high posts and largely let them set their own price on co-operation. By January, 1944, he felt it necessary to warn of the "grave dangers of rightist reaction in this nation." His warning was underscored by the nature of Dewey's 1944 Presidential campaign, master-minded by John Foster Dulles, whose theme was to pin a communist label on the Roosevelt administration.[1]

On Jan. 10, 1945, the foreign-policy aims of these groups were outlined to the Senate by Arthur Vandenberg, in a virtual ultimatum to Roosevelt and U. S. allies. Charging that Moscow was trying "to assert unilateral war and peace aims which collide with ours," he cited its pacts with Britain, Czechoslovakia, France, "the partition of Poland," and "the engulfment directly or indirectly of a surrounding circle of buffer states." The U. S. would not co-operate in the peace, said Vandenberg, unless these countries renounced their pacts with the U. S. S. R.—i.e., unless other nations let U. S. financial interests dictate their foreign policies.

TRUMAN RENEGES: Roosevelt, in an effort to undercut this "rightist reaction," appointed Dulles and Vandenberg to the U. S. delegation in San Francisco. After his death, and in the absence of former Secy. of State Hull, who was ill, Dulles assumed "the role of chief adviser to the U. S. delegation" (N. Y. **World-Telegram**, 4/23/45). Dulles and Vandenberg, thereafter, became top makers of foreign policy, along with such men as Averell Harriman, whose family had large interests in E. Europe and who, even before FDR died, was clamoring for an anti-Soviet line.[2]

Under such influences and the pressure of Churchill, President Truman decided he was not bound by the Yalta agreement. Under the headline: TRUMAN BARS PACT ON WORLD PEACE, REFUSES TO BE BOUND BY ACCORD MADE BY HEADS OF BIG THREE POWERS, the N. Y. **Sun** (4/24/45) reported that Truman "does not believe he is bound by secret agreements made in the several [Big Three] conferences . . . of which he has no formal and official record"; and that, in any case, he held the accords invalid since the Senate had not ratified them. At San Francisco, Vandenberg demanded opening of all World War II agreements (Teheran, Yalta) to wholesale revision. Only Hull's intervention prevented an all-out U. S. fight for such revision. But there was ample evidence that, as the N. Y. **Sun** put it (4/23/45), "the most dramatic change in our foreign policy . . . since the early days of the Roosevelt Administration" was under way:

• 1945: Economic war

Amid inspired comment that the U. S. S. R. must accede to U. S. demands if it wanted further U. S. aid, Lend-Lease to Russia was canceled on May 18, 1945, in a way designed "to give maximum provocation to the Kremlin"[3]—while it was continued to Britain which was arming an anti-Soviet Polish Army. The Soviet request for a U. S. loan—made both before and during Yalta, and viewed sympathetically by Roosevelt—was "lost" for over a year. Reparations policy was "reviewed": Washington now insisted on France's inclusion in the three-power Reparations Commission set up at Yalta. Stalin called this "an insult to the Soviet Union."[1]

At Yalta, Roosevelt was sympathetic to the Soviet demand for $10 billion in German reparations (Russia's material losses at Nazi hands were later conservatively estimated at $200 billion).[4] The enlarged Reparations Commission pared this down to $6 billion. But Britain and the U. S. failed to complete reparations deliveries by Feb. 2, 1946, as promised, and in May 1946 halted them altogether. Meantime, the Anglo-U. S. Combined Food Board kept UNRRA from fulfilling its food commitments to the Ukraine and White Russia (only 35% of these commitments were filled, and that six months late); and Herbert Hoover, named by Harry Truman to study the food situation in Europe, reported, movingly and with "a touch of eloquence" (**NYT**), on the "plight" of the "suffering" Germans, and proposed abolishing UNRRA altogether.

• 1945: East Europe

Yalta's agreement that the Lublin government remain the core of the Polish government was scrapped when Truman and Eden confronted Molotov, who came to San Francisco at Truman's request, with a demand for a new government of largely anti-Soviet complexion. The U. S. S. R.'s refusal became the pretext for the first big anti-Soviet campaign which lasted through the San Francisco conference. (The Polish question was settled during a brief resurgence of the Roosevelt forces which compelled Truman to send Harry Hopkins to Moscow, and Joseph Davies to London, to explain that the U. S. would not "gang-up" on Russia and to negotiate a settlement.[1, 5])

The offensive against E. Europe was renewed Aug. 18, 1945, when the U. S. and Britain protested Bulgaria's election plans; Truman later said the U. S. would not recognize these "puppet" governments. British Foreign Secy. Bevin admitted (Jan. 22, 1948) that behind this offensive "the issue [was] the control of E. Europe by the U. S. S. R."

This Anglo-U. S. policy lacked any legal or moral basis. The armistice agreements for Rumania, Bulgaria and Hungary obligated their post-surrender governments to abolish for all time organizations that were pro-Hitler or "conducting propaganda hostile to the UN, in particular to the Soviet Union." Control of all forms of public expression and, in some cases, of industry and transport was vested in the "Allied [Soviet] High Command" and the governments were to carry out "all its instructions." The clear implication was, as Edgar Snow pointed out,[4]

> ". . . unlimited power of decision to the Red Army. . . . Considering the nature of the carte blanche we thus sanctioned—which the Yalta declaration did not revoke—it is perhaps surprising that any opposition to Communist Party rule in Balkan countries was permitted at all. . . . Our generals and politicians never assumed any allied agreement required us to support communist parties in our occupied areas. Why should the Russians have assumed the same agreements required them to support capitalist parties in theirs?"

• 1945: United Nations

In violation of Yalta's agreement to invite to San Francisco only countries which declared war on Germany by March 1, the U. S. and Britain railroaded through San Francisco an invitation to Argentina because they believed "that unless the conference was to be wholly dominated by Molotov a firm stand must be taken . . . on an issue he himself had raised" (Arthur Krock, **NYT**, 7/13/45). Truman's decision before San Francisco to back the Navy's demand for Japanese island bases vitiated the whole concept of trusteeship even before UN was born. The UN concept of collective security was similarly undermined at San Francisco by a U. S. "formula" designed to give "the U. S. and its allies a free hand in establishing future strategic military bases" (N. Y. **Sun**, 5/22/45). In contrast, the U. S. S. R. made ten major concessions in the conference's first 45 days to insure its success (**NYT** editorial, 6/13/45).

At Yalta, Roosevelt had proposed the principle of Big Five unanimity to govern Security Council voting, but afterwards he "allowed the country to get the impression that this voting procedure was imposed by Stalin" (James Reston, **NYT**, 4/2/45). Thus the U. S.-conceived "veto" became one of its main propaganda weapons against the U. S. S. R. And UN was so twisted from its original design that Secy. Byrnes could declare (3/1/46) that its Charter prohibited "a unilateral gnawing away of the status quo" which he defined as "aggression."

"UNLIMITED COUPS": In this fashion U. S. economic royalists, with the help of their British opposite numbers, launched their "cold war" to achieve the aims outlined by Vandenberg. Their tactics to win "national unity" behind their policy are well illustrated by this footnote to history revealed by the Yalta Papers.

At Yalta both Roosevelt and Churchill expressed much sympathy with Stalin's desire for a voice in control of the Dardanelles, urged Stalin to make concrete proposals later on. When he did, in a note to Turkey, a crisis atmosphere was built up in the U. S., with Truman calling a full-dress meeting of "diplomatic and military advisers" to consider "what one military spokesman described today as 'the unending series of Russian coups'" (N. Y. **Herald Tribune**, 8/16/46).

DOWAGER QUEEN ELIZABETH OF BELGIUM VISITS POLAND
The press said she was "the first member of a royal family to penetrate the Iron Curtain." She made the trip for the Chopin Festival.

1 Robert E. Sherwood: Roosevelt & Hopkins.
2 Yalta Papers.
3 Albert Z. Carr: Truman, Stalin & Peace.
4 Edgar Snow, Sat. Eve. Post, 2/22/47.
5 Churchill: Triumph & Tragedy.

HAVE YOU ADDED YOUR VOICE?

Florida governor asks Pardon Board to delay ruling on fate of Irvin

WALTER LEE IRVIN is the sole survivor of four Negro youths who were accused of rape in the Groveland (Fla.) "Little Scottsboro Case" six years ago. Last month Irvin got his first break from the State of Florida. Gov. LeRoy Collins, after reading a letter from former Lake County state's atty. Jess W. Hunter who prosecuted Irvin, asked the State Pardon Board to delay decision whether Irvin should die in the chair or get life imprisonment.

The Pardon Board has heard evidence from St. Petersburg Times reporter Norman Bunin, who investigated the case, and pleas for clemency from the Revs. Ben F. Wayland and Paul H. Gunse, representing local groups of ministers. Former Gov. Charley E. Johns, defeated by Collins last November, never expressed himself on the case and ignored all appeals for Irvin.

Advised by Florida Atty. Gen. Richard Ervin to "sample public opinion" in Lake County before deciding whether to reduce Irvin's sentence, Collins said:

"I think we are getting away from consistency if we do that. I don't think we should be guided by public sentiment. We should decide these matters on merit. I am having one aspect of the case investigated thoroughly and am studying the record and think that within a week I will be prepared to reconvene the pardon board and act on it."

"I'M NOT GUILTY": Twenty-year-old Irvin served for three years in the South Pacific, Manila and Japan; he went on trial in Groveland shortly after he returned home in 1949 to his parents and a $30-a-week job in a citrus grove. Described by a reporter as "an alert, articulate" youth who fought for his rights even in prison, Irvin rejected a prosecution lawyer's offer of life in exchange for a guilty plea. "I am not guilty," he told the lawyer.

Gov. Collins, in reviewing the evidence, will be examining the same pertinent material the Supreme Court refused to look at when asked to do so late last year by the NAACP.

Irradiated grandchildren

The great fear about these [atomic] tests is that the radiation from them may do irreparable damage. . . . This radiation can influence human reproduction. Its damage may hurt not us or our children but our grandchildren and great-grandchildren. The damage may not be evident in this generation or the next but only when it is beyond repair. Nobody knows for certain, but the risk seems real.

—Manchester Guardian editorial (3/16).

Styles Bridges unrehearsed

An NBC "Meet the Press" interview with Sen. Styles Bridges (R-N.H.) March 27 went as follows:

"Interviewer: Suppose Chiang couldn't carry it [mainland invasion] off. Would you have the U.S. troops there to support him in that?

"Bridges: I'd use the U.S. Navy, the U.S. Air Force. But I would not use American white soldiers on the continent of Asia.

"Interviewer: American white soldiers?

"Bridges: Well, I mean American soldiers. I would—the South Koreans and the Chinese Nationalists and some of our other allies in there—I would use them."

Natl. Assn. for Advancement of Colored People administrator Roy Wilkins immediately wired Bridges to explain. The Senator replied, according to the NAACP, "that the statement 'was immediately corrected on the telecast' and cited the 'tremendous pressure on this type of unrehearsed program being grilled by four commentators.'"

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NATIONAL GUARDIAN presents MR. MARTIN HALL, author, lecturer and world traveler in 2nd of series of 4 lecture-discussions on "What Is Happening to the U.S.A." Sun. evening, April 17. This will also be a commemorative evening: 2 decennials — F.D.R.'s death and the birth of the United Nations. Doors open 7 p.m. Guardian record "The Unforgotten Man" played 7:30-8:10. Martin Hall at 8:15 at Cultural Center, 3875 City Terrace Drive. Admission: 75c.

MORRIS GOODMAN 60th Birthday Celebration, Sat. Eve., Apr. 16, Park Manor, 607 So. Western Av. New and Unusual Program Refreshments Donation. Auspices: L. A. Comm. Protection of Foreign Born. MA 5-2169

HALL JOHNSON CHOIR in Concert of Sacred and Secular Music. A full evening by this world-renowned choir. FIRST UNITARIAN CHURCH, 2936 W. 8th St. April 24, 8 p.m. Adm. $1, inc tax.

CAREY McWILLIAMS, author of "Brothers Under the Skin," speaks on CIVIL LIBERTIES: Outlook for 1955," Wed., April 13, 8 p.m., at Valley Unitarian - Universalist Church, 14933 Victory Blvd., Van Nuys.

San Francisco

TESTIMONIAL DINNER honoring Bay Area attorneys, featuring Robert Kenney, Gale Sondergaard, Joseph Johnson, M. C. Sat., April 16, 7 p.m., California Hall, 625 Polk St. Reservations, $2.50; must be made by April 13. Phone: YUkon 2-5984. Sponsor: Northern California Committee for Protection of Foreign Born.

Miami Beach, Fla.

THE WARSAW GHETTO MEMORIAL will be observed on Thurs., April 21, 8:30 p.m., at the Flamingo Park, 11th & Jefferson Av. Prominent speakers and a fine program will be presented. Admission Free. Sponsored by: The Emma Lazarus Society of Miami Beach.

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PLANNING FOR THE BIGGEST RUSH HOUR IN HISTORY

The H-Bomb evacuation of New York: a monumental Civil Defense dilemma

By Elmer Bendiner

IN AN old gingerbread tower at Sixth Av. and 10th St., until a few years ago the Women's House of Detention, sits the loneliest man in New York: Capt. James J. Costigan, director, New York City's Civil Defense.

His recurrent nightmare, he says, is that the alert will sound indicating that in two hours a plane will be over the New York area possibly carrying a Hell-bomb.

"If that happened right now," he said, "I wouldn't know what to do. Warn people to hit the road out of the city? That might save a few thousands on the outskirts who could walk beyond the range of blast and fire and radiation. But it might call more people in the center of the city by panic. Should I tell them to dig in and stay put? Those thousands on the outskirts—who could get away—might die."

A WRONG GUESS: Where would he send the people in the two hours left before the bomb dropped? Costigan said: "A good civil defense director should be married to a good meteorologist."

He would have to determine the winds at the moment. (Usually they blow west to east over the city, but not always.) He would have to guess at the plane's target, then get as many as possible of the New York area's 15 million people some 25 miles away from where he guesses the bomb will fall. A wrong guess might send millions tumbling over themselves right toward the area of complete destruction.

"If I am alive after the bomb drops," said Costigan, "I may be strung up on a lamp post."

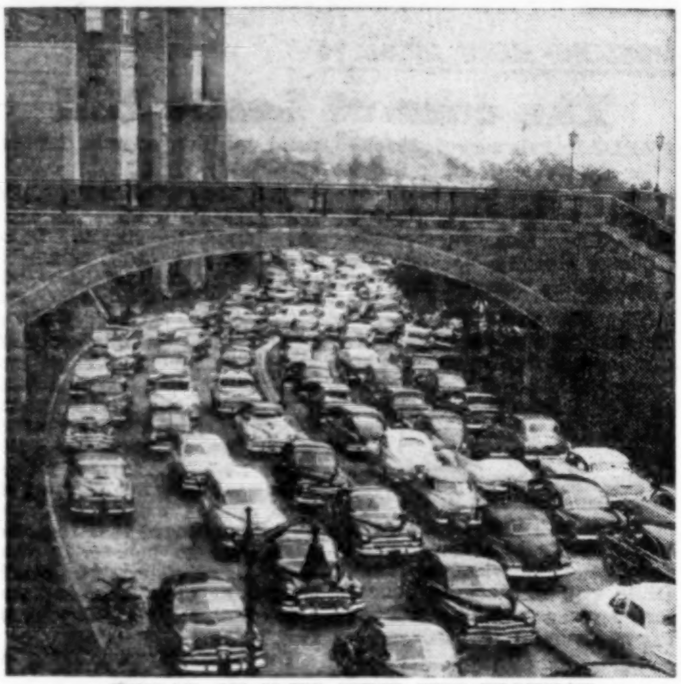
THE BULL'S EYE: Around the Captain's conference room are charts of the city, each with concentric circles traced on them, and in the center a lurid spot marked "area of total destruction." Each chart represents the pattern of death and damage by radiation or fire wrought by atomic bombs of varying strengths. In most cases the target area was Times Sq. "Why assume the enemy would try to knock out the Rivoli Theater?" the Captain was asked. He explained it was a matter of convenience in map drawing.

One map showed the dead center in the middle of Brooklyn. "Why is that one different?" An aide explained: "We had to move the target down to Brooklyn so we could keep the whole pattern from running off our map."

Costigan said, with a note of complaint, that CD officials were not in on high-level thinking. "We read about the latest developments in the newspapers," he said. Then new charts must be made with ever widening circles.

OR THEY'LL BE DEAD: The attitude of authorities in the gingerbread tower is that all of CD—with its tin-helmeted watchers standing guard with water buckets and flash lights—must be "re-evaluated" in the glare of 40-megaton H-bombs. The trend is toward evacuation.

"If we don't get them out," said the Captain, "they'll be dead." If the blast and fire doesn't destroy them, the initial radiation, spreading in an ellipse 250 miles long and 45 miles wide, stretching downwind from the point of impact, will destroy or critically injure everyone who isn't under several feet of dirt.



SUNDAY ON N.Y.'S WEST SIDE HIGHWAY
Imagine what evacuation day would bring out

Assuming the bomb drops on Times Square and that the winds blow as usual toward the east, the fatal cigar shaped area would envelop all of Long Island, reach up to Hastings, N.Y., in the north and Milburn, N.J., in the west.

"CALCULATED RISK": How would you direct 15 million people toward Westchester County, Connecticut and western N.J. in two hours, Costigan was asked, particularly when you don't know that the bomb, by design or slight error, might not fall on Hastings or Millburn? He said: "There will always be a calculated risk."

Even if we did know the target how would you move millions of excited people—even if you knew where to move them? The Captain said: "A study must be made."

A preliminary study has just been completed after nine months of work by William H. Kyle, vice-pres. of the Bankers Trust Co.; Najeeb E. Hallaby, associate of Rockefeller Bros., and Presly Lancaster Jr., Assistant to the executive manager of the Atomic Industrial Forum, Inc., an organization of companies and individuals interested in atomic power.

Titled "A Scientific Study of the Pre-Attack Evacuation of New York City," the report warns that "no known shelter will protect people from direct blast and radiation effects at or near Ground Zero—that is, the point directly beneath even a small thermo-nuclear explosion. Within a radius of three miles of Times Square, very few if any persons would survive such a blast regardless of the shelter offered. This fact indicates there is little alternative to realistic evacuation planning."

RUSH-HOUR BLUES: The planners envisioned New York's last two hours this way: If everything went according to schedule and the target was Times Square, about five million people would be in the deadliest danger. In one hour, said the planners, one million of them could be got out by rail, subway and ferry. (This seemed to be at variance with N.Y. State Civil Defense Director Lt. Gen. Huebner, who estimated that the rails could carry only 1,200 per hour.)

Leo Casey, director of public relations of the N.Y. Transit Authority, calculated for the GUARDIAN that in a typical rush-hour all subway trains, going in all directions in Manhattan, carry 597,162. This is with the minimum square feet of floor for a person to stand on and the minimum breathing air. The big rush-hour planned by the evacuators contemplates doubling the number at a moment when they would be not weary commuters but panic-stricken refugees.

SUNDAY DRIVERS: The remaining four million would be moved by vehicle along 200 traffic lanes, supervised by helicopters. Planners estimate that with a kind of Judgement Day congestion on the highways perhaps one million would get out by motor vehicle in one hour. (On an average summer week-end, with no incentive except pleasure sending people to the highways, the rate of progress out of the city sometimes slows down to a 10-mile-an-hour crawl.)

Even if the million by subway and the million on highways reached upper Westchester or central New Jersey, it would leave three million—37% of the city's population—no way out but to walk. There are 500,000 on the outskirts of the Bronx, 629,000 in Queens, 848,000 in Brooklyn and 50,000 in Richmond who might walk to safety. But the question plaguing the planners is: where would they walk to?

ABOUT CONELRAD: Without knowing where the bomb would drop, or which way the wind would blow the deadly radiation, people would stream in all directions. According to present plans, at the sound of an alert all television and radio stations are to go off the air directing listeners to tune into an emergency Conelrad frequency for instructions (640 or 1240 Kc.).

Capt. Costigan wondered whether anyone would hang around to listen to the radio on any frequency. He thought most people would head for the exits.

Dr. Ralph E. Lapp, writing in the **Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists** (2/55), pictured such a refugee on foot:

"Assume that he walks or runs all day, spending 9 hours in the hot area before finally reaching a non-contaminated place or before someone forces him to take shelter . . . he would get a dose of 930 roentgens—more than the lethal dose of about 559r. His panic or his ignorance would have cost him his life."

Capt. Costigan said Dr. Lapp's prescription of digging under the earth might do for those who had earth to dig, but that this was not true of New York's apartment house dwellers; basements are no surefire protection.

WHERE, OH WHERE?: To those who might walk out of town the big problem would be where to walk. A family in Bensonhurst could hit the roads out to Long Island, but they would have to walk 250 miles to get away from the fatal ellipse of radiation with which the wind is likely to blanket the island. Moreover, since Nassau County is a thriving center of aviation industry, it might be the target; they might be hurrying to meet their doom.

If one knew where to send people, how would they be fed and sheltered? Where would the doctors, nurses, firemen, policemen, be? What would happen to New York if the bomb came not by air but by sea?

The worried Captain and his aides had some tentative answers **(see next week's GUARDIAN)** but only one of his messages to New Yorkers came with heart-felt conviction: "Pray for peace."

TEN YEARS AFTER ROOSEVELT'S DEATH

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FORUM 1: ORTHODOXY, HERESY & THE INDIVIDUAL CONSCIENCE
Royal W. France, Moderator.
Dr. Glenn L. Archer—Separation of Church and State.
Rev. Wayne White—Eliminating the Protest from Protestantism.

FORUM 2: LABOR & LIVELIHOOD UNDER TYRANNY
J. Raymond Walsh, Moderator.
Frank Donner—Informers as Tools.
Norman Redlich—The Fifth Amendment.

FORUM 3: PASSPORTS, RIGHT TO TRAVEL, WORLD UNDERSTANDING
Leonard B. Boudin, Moderator.
Prof. H. H. Wilson—Barriers to Understanding.
Prof. Derk Bodde—The Danger of Isolationism.
Prof. Thomas I. Emerson—Illegal Restrictions on Travel.

FORUM 4: CONFORMITY vs. CREATIVITY IN ART & EDUCATION
Dr. Broadus Mitchell, Moderator.
Paul Draper—The Punishment of Independence.
Mrs Goldie Watson—Must Teachers Be Informers?
Mrs. Rose Russell—What Is Happening to the Schools?

FORUM 5: THE POLITICS OF FEAR
I. F. Stone, Moderator.
Dr. Marynia Farnham—"Loyalty Neuroses."
Louis L. Redding—The Louisville Travesty.
Mrs Dorothy Marshall—Combatting Fear in California.
Daniel S. Gillmor—Punishment Without Trial.

AFTERNOON SESSION (2 p.m.-4:30 p.m.)

THE PEOPLE'S RIGHT AND DUTY TO SPEAK UP
Harvey O'Connor, Chairman
Symposium of the moderators of the morning forums
Address by Senator William Langer

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NEW YORK

School Board assailed by 2,200 at Teachers Union conference

THE N. Y. C. Board of Education's recent "inform-or-else" ruling was the object of scathing criticism by speakers who addressed 2,200 members and guests at the Teachers Union's 19th annual conference April 2 at the Hotel Commodore.

Receiving the union's annual award for "valiant and unswerving defense of intellectual freedom," Dr. Corliss Lamont said New York had "spearheaded the witch-hunt against teachers throughout the U.S. . . . The anti-democratic, anti-intellectual demagogues of today . . . proceed on the assumption that what happens to American education will eventually happen to America." He quoted the words of Giordano Bruno, burned at the stake by the Inquisition in 1600: "Maybe you who condemn me are in greater fear than I who am condemned." Lamont called upon Congressional committees to investigate and expose the entire "informer racket."

DOWN THE SLIDE: Presenting the award, Mrs. Rose Russell, TU legislative representative, noted how far freedom has been eroded in the six years since the Feinberg Law: from 1949 when the late Sen. Robert A. Taft opposed the firing of a teacher "simply for being a Communist," to today when "the level of demand of decent people is reduced to pleas . . . not to require [teachers] to become informers in order to hold their jobs." She said it was ironic that teachers had to demand that the Board of Education abide by the regulations of "this wretched thought-control law."

Discussing the unreliability of informers, atty. Louis L. Redding, a member of the NAACP's legal committee, who is engaged in the legal battle to end school segregation, said that once the use of informers "would have seemed as strange as the intrusion of a creature from another planet." The Supreme Court de-segregation decision "can prove to be the trumpet whose vibrations will level other walls of segregation," he said.

"SOMETHING HAPPENING:" On the convention's theme, "Man's Fight for Knowledge," TU pres. Abraham Lederman said the "inform-or-else" resolution had stirred the "broadest and most vigorous opposition ever aroused on an issue facing the New York schools." Angus Cameron, publisher of **False Witness,** by Harvey Matusow, whom the Board of Education had employed as a finger-man, said: "Something is happening in this country . . . it began with the McCarthy hearings . . . we are no longer isolated in our resistance."

Harvey E. Stahl, Supt. of Schools from Claymont, Del., and guest of honor, received a standing ovation at the lunch session. Two years before the Supreme Court decision, Stahl had de-segregated Claymont schools, over opposition by the state attorney general and superintendent of schools.

GROUNDS FOR ROARING: Another guest of honor was Miss Monica Whateley, lecturer, for nine years member of the London County Council, reporter to the UN on South Africa, now in New York as an observer to the Women's Status Commission. Speaking of her "horror" on finding that Spain prohibited Protestant schools, she said:

"We Catholics should make a tremendous roar about this. How dare we demand freedom to practice our religion in any land when our religionists do not grant it in others?"

MEETING HERE APRIL 16

The case of Leslie Hill

EARLY in February a preacher took over teacher Leslie Hill's science classroom at Pipkin Junior High School, Springfield, Mo., for weekly religious exercises—a practice permitted by Missouri law.

After the preacher left, the children buzzed with questions. Hill suggested that those who wanted to discuss the subject could stay after school. When the closing bell sounded the children fired questions at the teacher. In response to one of them Hill said that in his own opinion, God, Heaven and Hell were "purely imaginary" concepts, not physical entities. (Hill, who has taught school for 16 years, had been a Baptist minister in 1950-51.)

One child told his parents, who reported Hill to school authorities. On Feb. 17 Hill was fired. The Springfield Supt. of Schools ruled: "There is no room in the schools for an agnostic."

"NEW SCOPES CASE": The case stirred attention throughout Missouri. The St. Louis **Post-Dispatch** (3/2), calling it a new "Scopes case" (in which Fundamentalists during the 20's challenged the right to teach evolution in schools), asked: "Does this case not show it to be a grievous mistake to use the school system in any way to teach sectarian beliefs or disbeliefs to children? . . . Mr. Hill's dismissal is a direct blow at religion and puts every Christian in jeopardy. The Board that required a teacher to believe in God may next determine which church he must join, and fire him eventually for believing in God."

The St. Louis Civil Liberties Union and the Unitarian Fellowship came to Hill's defense and last week were reported considering court action. In New York several societies dedicated to church-state separation formed the "Joint Committee to Defend Leslie Hill" with headquarters at 20 E. 100th St., and called a protest meeting for April 15 at 8 p.m. in the True Sister Clubhouse, 150 W. 85th St. Heading the speakers will be N. Y. Law School professor Wm. M. Kunster.

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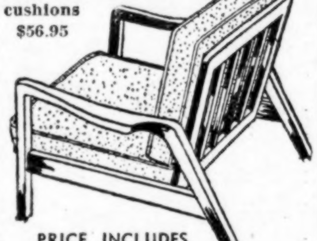

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PROTEST MEETING — Prof. Leslie Hill. Fired on False Charge of "Teaching Atheism" to Springfield, Mo. science class. Hear: WILLIAM KUNSTLER, prof. at N.Y. School of Law, and other speakers representing various groups of the Joint Comm. to Defend Leslie Hill. Fri., April 15, 8 p.m., at True Sisters, 150 W. 85th St. Contribution: $1.

BOOK REVIEW NIGHT
and Social
2 reviews:
"False Witness"—Matusow
"The Public Philosophy" —Lippmann
Sat., April 9 9 P.M.
863 Broadway Donation: 50c
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THIS SUNDAY NIGHT, APRIL 10, 8:15 P.M.: An expose: "How the Walter-McCarran Law Affects You and 40 Million Americans"—by Alec Jones, Exec. Secy., N.Y. Comm. Protection Foreign Born. Talk illustrated with movie. At ALP, 220 W. 80th St. Contribution: 50c.

14th ANNIVERSARY BANQUET of the German-American. Sat., April 16, Yugoslav Hall, 405 W. 41st St. Guest Speaker: Hans Blumenfeld. Adm: $2.50. Reservations: The German-American, Inc., Box 214, Cooper Station, N. Y. 3.

LECTURE, MOVIE AND DANCE. Sun., April 17, 8 p.m., at 189 2nd Av. (2d floor). Sponsor: Jewish Peoples Philharmonic Chorus in cooperation with Comm. for Protection of Foreign Born. Adm. 50c.

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Little-known aspects of the Red Menace

ST. PAUL, Minn, UP — The Minnesota House passed a bill today to legalize the sale of vodka after rejecting dire warnings of Rep. F. Gordon Wright, a Minneapolis attorney. "Don't think for one minute that 'Pravda' won't tell the people behind the Iron Curtain that we in Minnesota have taken a liking to their national drink," he declared. "This is nothing but Communist propaganda."
—N. Y. Herald Tribune, Mar. 16.

Leaves from a Free World diary

BALLOON FALLS ON LETCHER —We were all excited February 12 when we looked up and saw a plastic balloon falling here in Letcher County. It fell here in the woodland. We saw it coming a long way off. The balloon said "Crusade for Freedom." In it were some cards and papers from the Fraternal Order of Eagles. It fell at six o'clock Eastern Time.
Mrs. Ballard Niece, the Finder, Whitesburg, Ky.
—Louisville Courier-Journal, March 1.

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ALBANY REPORT

Stall and stampede: Record of the '55 N.Y. Legislature

By Arthur Schutzer
Guardian legislative correspondent

THE Legislature's session ended on April 2, narrowly missing an appropriate April Fool's Day. Once again it stalled for months, then stampeded to adjournment. As long as planned chaos remains the pattern of legislative procedure, the people cannot get the legislation they need.

Even in the session's closing days, the only bills that stirred Democrats and Republicans to real fighting were those dealing with racing, a legislative watchdog committee, and more pay for Supreme Court justices. Gov. Harriman, who did not feel sufficiently aroused to send an emergency demand for more state aid for education, announced that he was ready to send a special message permitting immediate passage of a Supreme Court justices' pay boost. The proposal to raise their pay $2,500 a year had the support, said the N. Y. **Times** (4/2), "of Gov. Harriman, Carmine F. DeSapio, leader of Tammany Hall, and a number of Republican county chairmen." For bi-partisan improvement of horse racing and judicial pay hikes, the green light; for underpaid teachers, merely a promise to await the Heald Commission report next year.

THE UNLOVED CONSTITUTION: In the last week, the Senate passed unanimously a proposal to let workers be fired for invoking the Fifth Amendment in loyalty proceedings. Democrats and Republicans solidly favored it. The bill was killed in the Assembly—without any public statement from Harriman.

Rent controls were extended for two years, but with widespread decontrol outside of N.Y.C. and with N.Y.C. getting no more than the existing set-up—which means landlord gimmicks for rent hikes, trumped-up evictions. On this key issue, Democratic legislative leaders were neither seen nor heard. Harriman made thunderous statements, but never said flatly he would veto sham rent-control legislation. Only State Rent Commissioner Charles Abrams stood up to the Republican spokesmen for the real estate interests. Abrams can make a further contribution by (a) making public the results of current housing surveys, and (b) holding public hearings on tightening the Rent Regulations which govern rent-control enforcements. A bi-partisan program to aid middle-income housing and to increase subsidies for low-income housing was passed, but a bill to put a lien on property for the cost of removing violations was killed.

On discrimination, a forward step was taken by giving the State Commission Against Discrimination jurisdiction over discrimination in publicly-assisted housing, and prohibiting racial or religious discrimination in publicly-assisted or Federally insured housing. But the key witness in the workings of the SCAD remains: the law still limits filing of complaints to individuals directly affected. Neither the Commission nor any organization (NAACP, unions, etc.) can initiate action in behalf of victims of discrimination. This hobbles effective enforcement.

CRUMBS FOR THE CITY: N.Y.C., despite several pleasant luncheon chats between Mayor Wagner and Harriman, still is not getting a fair share of state aid. The Legislature, with both Democratic and Republican votes, made the city 3% sales tax permanent, so that New Yorkers no longer have to plead with Albany every few years for "permission" to pay it.

The increase in unemployment insurance benefits from $30 to $36, and extension of coverage to employers of three or more persons in 1956 and two or more in 1957, are the crumbs handed labor. No dependency or maternity benefits; no repeal of the Hughes-Brees or Condon-Wadlin laws; no increase in Workmen's Compensation benefits; no resolution memorializing Congress to enact a $1.25 an hour minimum wage law; no extension of the state minimum wage law to cover men as well as women and children.

Among other bills killed were: mandatory permanent personal registration; mandatory direct election of district leaders at primary elections; compulsory auto insurance; study of the state's divorce laws; outlawing of wire-tapping; a state bond issue for new schools; repeal of the Feinberg law. One of the last bills passed was one establishing the rose as the official state flower.

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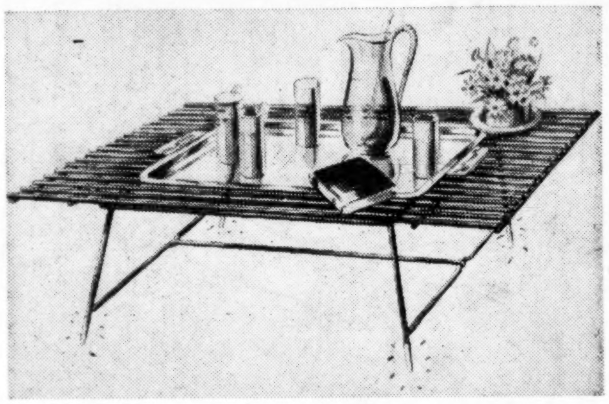

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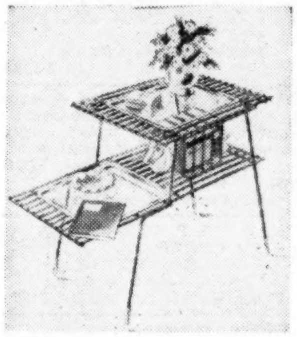

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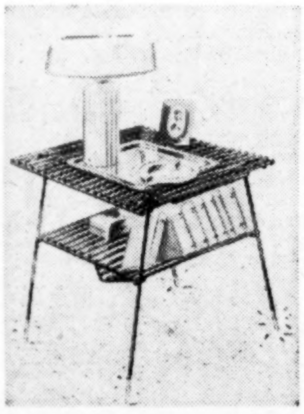

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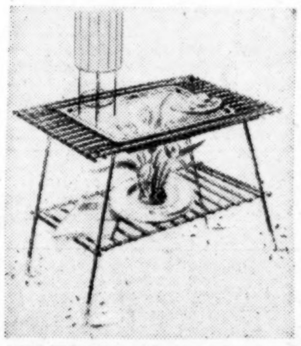

END TABLE with magazine shelf and removable brass-trimmed plastic serving tray, brass-tipped legs. 27"x14¼"x21" high.

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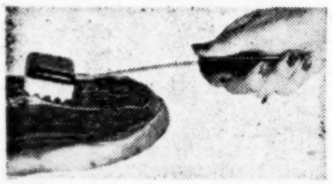

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the SPECTATOR

The heritage of Easter

EASTER, a springtime festival, is a time for new life and hope. Easter is not just a day; it is an experience. In the midst of the present world agony, when there is not one cross but fields of crosses, the people still refuse to accept defeat. A peaceful and triumphant future lies ahead for men, women and children on this earth when the crucifixions of social rejection, poverty and war are no more.

Seen in its historical perspective, the Easter season is a unifying period for all races and faiths. Jesus, in his life and teachings, was the fulfilment of the Old Testament prophets' ethical and spiritual ideals. He shattered man-made barriers of class and color, leading to the persecution of minorities, with concepts of the brotherhood of all men and the Fatherhood of God. He again and again dumbfounded the bigoted and self-righteous by his divine recklessness in working with all people without discrimination.

Easter and Passover have much in common, because Christians and Jews find in their respective festivals a challenge and a renewal. As Christians are remembering Lent and Easter, Jewish families are celebrating the Passover in their homes and synagogues. Jesus, as a lad, often went to Jerusalem for the Passover feast, and he was in Jerusalem when he met his death. Passover is the time for reciting again the story of Moses leading the Israelites out of bondage. It is the festival of freedom.

VOICE OF THE OUTCAST: The Easter heritage, if understood in relation to the vested property interests and bigotry that brought Jesus to the cross, has an unusual significance for the multitudes of unrequited workers. Jesus was a carpenter's son who became skilful in the use of tools. He knew poverty. Praying for **daily** bread was not just an empty ritual. From the earliest moments his thoughts and inspirations were those of the outcast and downtrodden. In his first recorded sermon, which got him thrown out of the synagogue, he said:

"The Spirit of the Lord is upon me, because he anointed me to preach good tidings to the poor; He hath sent me to proclaim release to the captives, and recovering of sight to the blind, to set at liberty them that are bruised, to proclaim the acceptable year of the Lord."

So close was Jesus to the hearts of the people that when he began his sermon on the mount "the whole multitude sought to touch him." It is no wonder that imperial Rome and its underlings sought to put him out of the way.

"I'LL BE EVER'WHERE": The history of labor tells of many leaders who loved justice more than their own lives, and suffered martyrdom. One need only recall some of the more recent campaigns to organize steel, rubber and auto to remember beatings, imprisonment and even death. The final courage and the immortality that flows from the struggle of the lowly to be free are forever celebrated in "Joe Hill." "I never died," says he. "What they forgot to kill went on to organize."

Do you remember Tom Joad in **The Grapes of Wrath?** Hounded by the "law" because he was believed to be an agitator, he concluded he would embarrass his family less by leaving them and going on his own. In a touching farewell, his Ma asked:

"How'm I gonna know 'bout you? They might kill ya an' I wouldn't know. They might hurt ya. How'm I gonna know?"

Tom laughed uneasily. "Well, maybe like Casey says, a fella ain't got a soul of his own, but on'y a piece of a big one—an' then—"

"Then what, Tom?"

"Then it won't matter. Then I'll be aroun' in the dark. I'll be ever'where—wherever you look. Wherever they's a fight so hungry people can eat, I'll be there. Wherever they's a cop beatin' a guy, I'll be there. I'll be in the way kids laugh when they're hungry an' they know supper's ready. An' when our folks eat the stuff they raise an' live in the houses they build —why, I'll be there. See?"

IMMORTALITY: There is a story about the great Russian play, **Distant Point,** and its author. At the end of a performance one evening, after the audience had been thrilled by a dramatic call to resist the Germans, Edmund Willard, who played the Red Army general, came to the footlights and announced that the author had been killed in an air raid in Moscow. Then he quoted these words, taken from the play:

"We all have a distant point, a world in which all men shall live their lives in freedom and happiness. We all think for that, live for that to the very last second of our last hour. And when death comes—why, **we'll die alive.**"

At first Jesus' disciples were stunned and terrified by his crucifixion; but the incontrovertible evidence of the Bible and history is that later they caught the full meaning of his life and death, and faced commitments that also led to the cross. They experienced a recovery of faith and courage. Jesus **had died alive.**

Today, just as in the time of Jesus, the heartache on Friday does not black out the joy of Easter morning.

—Willard Uphaus